MOKO

A Serious Review

No. 15
Price 10c

WHAT TERRORS NOW?

The bus workers strike which has now come to an end has left behind it a trail of issues which we shall need to discuss from time to time in the pages of MOKO. Some of them we have already discussed, but there is still a lot to be said and we shall say it. There is one very interesting speculation though which is of obviously immediate concern. The question is: what now?

To judge by the pages of the NATION this is a very useful and timely enquiry. Those few of us who read the NATION will have noticed that it has become very garrulous of late. It has taken on a new lease of life. Its issues of Friday May 2, May 9 and May 16 are classics in the art of hysterical, wide-eyed journalism. That of May 2 addressed an "Open Letter" to the Prime Minister calling for action against MOKO because, among other things, the demonstration of April 12 had been described as dignified and disciplined. That of May 9, headlined "The Lawless Breed", took to task all those who participated in the TIWU demonstration on Monday, May 5 last. The issue of May 16, narrowed its sights and took direct aim at the President-General of TIWU, Mr. Joe Young.

NO ANALYSIS

Since the NATION made no attempt to analyse the issues there is very little to discuss. We are not surprised that a demonstration in which the marchers were accompanied by bongos and drums should be offensive to the NATION. Nor are we surprised that it finds it difficult to understand why it should be so necessary to discuss the SYSTEM under which we live. No wonder that its comments have had to be confined to scandal-mongering and bacchanal. A more honest concern with the SYSTEM would have suggested deeper reflection on the photograph on page 3 of the issue of May 2, showing the "army of guests' (the NATION'S words) shall we say "beating the retreat" at Chaguaramas at Crow's nest on April 22 last.

What we wonder though is what is the true significance of this latest silliness by the NATION. On the last occasion it heralded the Industrial Stabilisation Act. They were then appealing to the Messiah to "Impose a Solution".

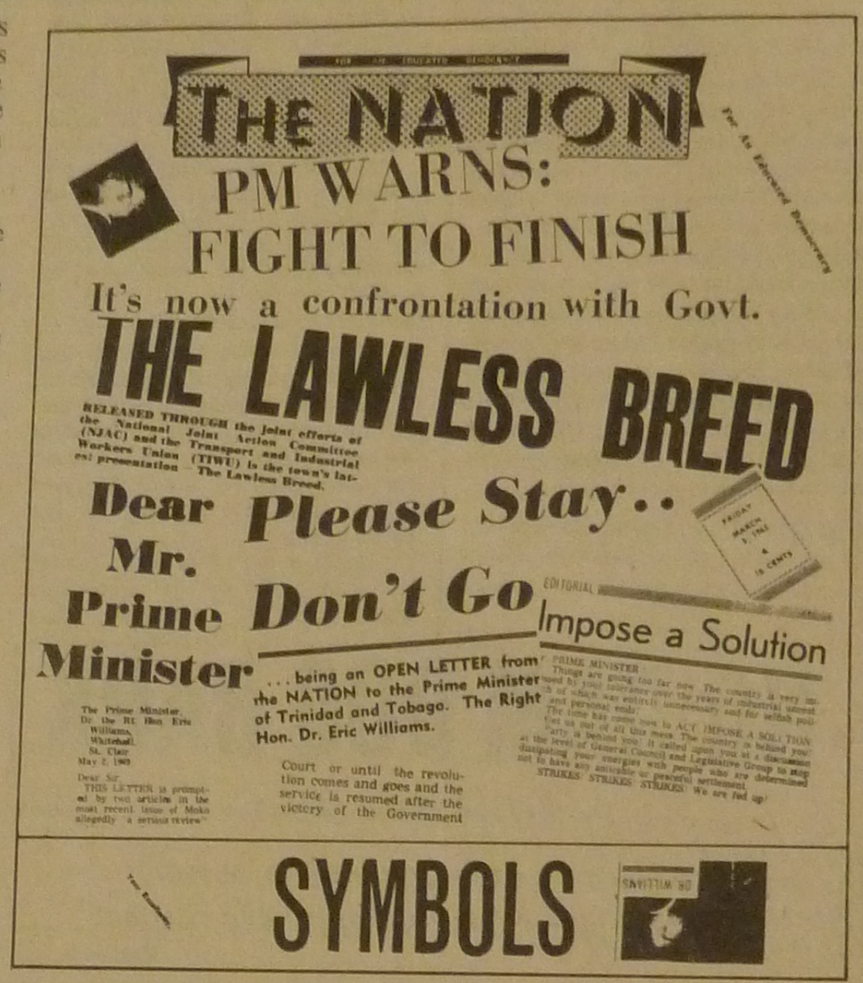
NO STRIKE

It is evident that a "solution"is about to be "imposed" on the present situation. Press reports of Wednesday May 21 stated that 650 bus workers may lose their jobs. The Corporation's argument is that the workers were away without leave; that there was no strike. The reports also indicate that the Corporation has received the go-ahead for this line of argument from the Government itself. On Saturday May 16 the Premier said that there was no strike.

"About 75 per cent of the workers were back on their jobs, yet some people wanted to say there was a strike."

THE BACKLASH

And Errol Mahabir, Minister of Public Utilities, asks blandly "What strike?" Accepting the cue, the Corporation hints that it might try to get rid of about 25% of its workers. It seems to us that the argument they are putting forward is a quibble. The expected backlash of reprisal has begun. Exactly why is the Government, which the Premier says will fight to the death, inviting open confrontation? Clearly to use the bus workers as scapegoats and as a warning to the rest of the society. The age of threat has set in What new age does it precede? A look at the examples of Guyana and Jamaica might help us to answer this one.



THE NATION

PM WARNS:
FIGHT TO FINISH

It's now a confrontation with Govt.

THE LAWLESS BREED

RELEASED THROUGH the joint efforts of the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC) and the Transport and Industrial Workers Union (TIWU) is the town's latest presentation — The Lawless Breed.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister

Please Stay.. Don't Go

EDITORIAL

Impose a Solution

PRIME MINISTER

Things are going too far now. The country is very impatient by your insistence over the years of industrial unrest, a lot of which was entirely unnecessary and for selfish political and personal ends.

The time has come now to ACT. IMPOSE A SOLUTION. Let us put all of all this mess. The country is behind you; labour is behind you; it is behind you. It is called upon you at a discussion at the level of General Council and Legislative Group to stop dissipating your energies with people who are determined not to have any amicable or peaceful settlement.

STRIKES. STRIKES. STRIKES. We are fed up!

The Prime Minister,
Dr. the Rt. Hon. Eric Williams,
Whitehall,
St. Clair
May 2, 1969

Dear Sir,

THIS LETTER is prompted by two articles in the most recent issue of Moko allegedly a serious review

...being an OPEN LETTER from the NATION to the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. The Right Hon. Dr. Eric Williams.

Court or until the revolution comes and goes and the service is resumed after the victory of the Government

SYMBOLS

The Teachers and Politics

PART II

In our last issue, we outlined some of the stages by which the Teachers' Union has become a body in which rank and file members are divorced from the people at the centre of the organization. We pointed out that this gradual loss of democratic rights - teachers have no right to say exactly how the money which is automatically deducted from their salaries as union dues is to be spent - has partly been the fault of the teachers themselves. Some of their top officials have passively accepted the growing dictatorship of St. Elmo Gopaul, their politically-instituted General Secretary.

Yet the rank and file members are not wholly to blame for this. Indeed, so strong was their objection to Gopaul, and so serious were their doubts about the legitimacy of his position, that they rejected him by a vast majority. 23 out of 28 District Teachers Associations said NO! to Gopaul. Yet he remains Why?

In this issue, we look a little more closely at some of the objections which have been made to Gopaul's remaining in office, and how they have been met, if not answered. A good beginning might be found in a letter signed by Mr. S. Dedier and addressed to the Ag. President, in February, 1964 - from which I quote in part—

"In my humble opinion, the allegations were of a grave enough nature to warrant some sort of action by the competent authority. Actually nothing was done as I did not receive an acknowledgement from the office of the Registrar of Trade Unions. The fact that the perpetrators were able to get away on the first occasion, seemed to have emboldened them still further, as it was only at a meeting of the Executive Council held at Union Headquarters on Feb.7th. last, that I learned that Rule 39., beginning from-'All officers.....than three terms.'– had been changed by some person or persons .....I have come to the conculuson, Sir, that the General secretary, along with other willing accomplices, would go to any limit, even if this means breaking the laws of our Country, (as contained in the Trade Unions Ordinance) struggle to retain power in the Union..."

Of equal significance is a Memo from Mr. D. Lodge, then President of the Union, to Mr. Tahmool Hosein, Q.C., in pursuit of a legal opinion, on the Annual Conference of 1964. This letter reads in part.... "As there was not very much in the notes of the Executive Council Meeting to assist the Chairman in his ruling, nor were any of the legal opinions tendered in writing, I therefore ruled as follows-

a) Seeing that the composition of the house was being questioned, the Chair thought it inadvisable to put the matter to the House for a decision.

b) As the Executive Council thought it necessary to obtain legal opinions on the question and as these opinions were not tendered in writing, I therefore ruled that the Conference stands adjourned for two weeks.....The House, prodded on by the General Secretary, reconvened the Meeting within minutes, elected a Chairman, and proceeded with the business of the Conference including Elections of Officers..."

And what was Mr. Gopaul's defence before the High Court? In substance, after questioning the membership of Mr. Dindial, Mr. Gopaul continued to state, under oath, that –"the meeting felt that had he (Mr. Lodge) fulfilled the obligations of his office by attending meetings, he would have known that the matter of Rule 19 (e) had been previously disposed of by the Union,".... "The meeting felt that his sudden appearance to chair the adjourned Conference (caused by Mr. Mac Farlane's injunction) was calculated and a deliberate attempt to disrupt the functioning of the Union."..... One might ask a very pertinent question, however, and that is ..."If a meeting stands adjourned, upon what authority can that same meeting be immediately re-convened to

•Cont'd on page 2

FORTHCOMING ISSUES

DON DRUMMOND
AND JAMAICA MUSIC
THE CIVIL SERVICE
"FROUDACITY"
A NEW PUBLICATION

LAW & JUSTICE

MARTIN LUTHER KING SPEAKS

Confined to a Birmingham jail in 1963 for his part in nonviolent demonstrations against segregation, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., wrote a letter expressing his convictions and justifying his action. In part that justification depended upon the definition of the term "just" as is developed below serves Dr. King's argument?

"You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we do so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, it is rather strange and paradoxical to find us conciously breaking laws. One may ask, "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others? The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws; There are just laws, and there are unjust laws. I would agree with St Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

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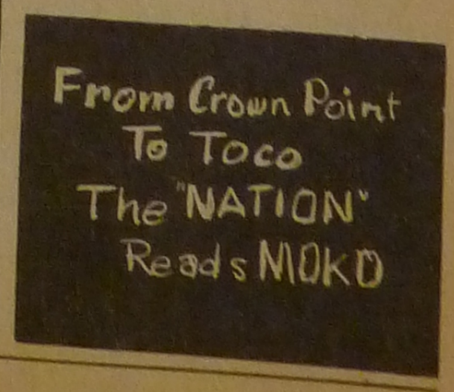
Now, what is the difference between the two? How does one determine when a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law, or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put in the terms of St. Thomas Aquinas, an unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. To use the words of Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, segregation substitutes an "I - it" relationship for the "I - thou" relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. So segregation is not only politically economically and sociologically unsound, but it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Isn't segregation and existential expression of man's tragic separation, an expression of his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? So I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court because it is morally right and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances because they are morally wrong.(From Dr. King's letter"The Negro Is Your Brother," as published in August, 1963, issue of the Atlantic Monthly.)



RACKETS BOBOL AND SLAUGHTER

A young lady has decided that the Country is getting very hard to progress in, so the best move is out. She starts by inquiring from persons here, there and all over the country until she is recommended to an agency. In the process of being interviewed the agency has discovered that she is willing to co-operate with them by paying a fee for registration.

The lady is then asked to keep in touch with the agency due to the fact that there are many persons on the registration list already there before her also her contract will take some time. A few days later she is called to the office and a series of introduction begins which like getting to know you along with a few jokes to prove that everything is in good faith.

RACKETS = KNOWING that this girl is willing to do a few favours she is then asked to meet some prominent people from overseas. Here is where BOBOL begins on account of a few businessmen who come to do business and pleasure at the same time. A fee is proposed and the girl thinking that meeting Foreigners is the ideal thing, grasps the opportunity and is quite happy to entertain a gentleman, not knowing that this can go on indefinitely. This is where the Slaughter begins: FIRST the boss, 2ND his colleagues. The young lady seeing that it's quite a while and no progress is being made, becomes frustrated. On seeing this the agency acts fast by getting some of these same businessmen to send bogus letters and photographs. The young lady, on receiving same, becomes excited, but eventually is struck by reality. Therefore, becoming even more FRUSTRATED demands the return of her registration fee. On seeing that this lady is about to cause some trouble the agency presents her with some pictures of her past escapades which she of herself is not aware of.

Finally, she is left in horror. This takes care of her, leaving her with no other alternative but to stay put. The so called agency will now dictate the pace until they feel it's time to send her away or leave her as a humble servant of the agency.

CHESS

BY "OTTO"

We have been talking about the language of chess but we have been doing so in a very passive manner. We need now to become very much more active. We need to talk about the pieces in motion. Chess is a game of movement. Every single movement no matter how insignificant it seems changes the entire complexion of every game. Later when we actually begin to play we shall discover that the most powerful moves are often the most innocuous and innocent in appearance. Indeed it is not a bad rule to be guided by the belief that the least dangerous the move looks the more it is to be respected and scrutinised.

We begin with assigning simple symbols to the pieces. The king we will refer to as K, the queen as Q, the rooks as R, the bishops as B, the knights as Kt (sometimes, as pointed out in No. 6, as N) the pawns as P. Next we use a dash (-) to indicate movement from one square to another, and a cross (x) to indicate a capture. Also, we use the following symbols to indicate the process of castling: O-O, if we are castling on the king's side, and O-O-O if we are castling on the queen's side.

Another set of symbols are 'ch' for check, 'dis ch' for discovered check, 'e.p.' for en passant. Mate is mate; that is the end. Sometimes it is called checkmate.

Imagine then that we are playing a game. We will record the first few moves to show what happens in practice.

1. P-K4

The white pawn goes from K2 to K4. Black to play.

1. . . . Note the dots.

P-Q4

They always indicate a black move. Black's pawn has gone from Q2 to Q4.

2. PxP

White's pawn takes Black's pawn.

2. . . . QxP

Black's queen takes White's pawn.

3. N-QB3

White's queen knight goes to the third square up on his queen's bishop's file. Black's Queen is under attack.

3. . . . Q-Ql

A very prudent and a very sound move. Black returns his Queen to its normal square.

Incidentally we have been playing the Centre Counter one of the less popular openings. It is useful for the aggressive player who likes to engage the foe as soon as possible. Later we will see that not all openings are like this. There are openings in fact which postpone engagement until well into the middle game. Some players play games in which engagement is never reached; draws then result. That too is sometimes useful. Strategies depend on circumstances. As long as the strategy is appropriate to the circumstance that is good; in fact that is what is important. In chess as in life strategy is of the essence.

MOKOJ

CAR
AFTER O

Consonant with the age in which we
bution falls very swiftly these days. And
The month of May has been, since
though late are nonetheless timely. Gre
booklet by the Trinidad and Tobago M
ean Integration" has recently made its a
meaning though perhaps not precisely in
It is full of irony too for it is just about
comments which the booklet now echoes.
CARIFTA it seems is in the toils.
propriately guarded and diplomatic, is a
Development Bank must come into be
come the irreducible minimum condition
further to participate. And if Jamaica
she might do, the smaller territories
that happens it is most probably goodbye
the more we ponder the more complicate
become.

Let us see then what we can see.
CARIFTA. The trick is to reconcile
position is simple and straightforward.
For them the Bank's the thing. So far
without planned, purposeful developm
likely to have less.

According to figures provided in A
the value of total imports into Trinidad
Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Antigua
Virgin Islands and the Grenadines) was
figure was $2,058,000. It had dropped
disastrously. In the case of St. Vincent

major exporter of foodstuffs to the Eas
to $751,100. In the case of St. Lucia
In the case of St. Kitts the figure declin
Even our imports from Barbados, $1,483,

On the export side the figures show
territories amounted to $17,112,300 in
In other words last year, a period co
CARIFTA we imported $379,200 less
900 more. Clearly there is little in this
the Bank now more than they ever did.
relevant cry and the smaller territories
area are still basically at odds with CARI

Trinidad and Tobago, too, has its
CARIFTA. Caribbean Integration pu
Jamaica decides not to enter the Bank
draw but "will have to consider its pos
that is to say "(10) overleaf" strongly
and Tobago will depend on a good arra
and Tobago position now is negotiable
Bank it is unlikely to be.

But Jamaica seems less and less like
ticipate or not to participate is tied up
question of the political leadership of
the Prime Ministership. As is well kno
the highest political honours in Jamaica
position with respect to CARIFTA a
CARIFTA and the Bank were among
JLP factions when Mr. Seaga's bid for
Mr. Shearer has rescued himself, partly
possibilities presented by the Rodney
dropping the Caribbean thing about
position can be put like this. If he ca
paying too high a political cost he will
won't. With Jamaica as unsettled as
And so we have to reckon on not having

What are the prospects then for CA
the kind of Bank which can be estab
which can be arrived at about BWIA
be reached. Can agreement be reache

a good guess, for here too there are

It is no accident that so far Jam
antagonists to the notion of designa
Both Jamaica and Barbados have hig
are determined to protect. To help or
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industries of Jamaica and Barbados.
other reasons, but this is the main
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for assistance. A major internation
seats and hotels which Trinidad
is clear that certainly Jamaica,
Trinidad and Tobago to provide

It looks then as if we must

NO DAM DOG BARK

The Sayings of Our Chairman *by Y. Lord*

"Who gave you the privilege to object?
Pay your taxes, Shut up and have respect"
(Sparrow)

Very early in the history of the party, some people were puzzled at the strangely violent language of our Chairman. First "If they get me blasted vex .... What the hell the D.L.P. believe ... To hell with the D.L.P." That was in 1958 (see. "The Observer," May, 1958). This same journal attributes to our Chairman an even stranger outburst. "The P.N.M. bull-dozers are digging deep into the hillsides, and God help any minority group that gets into the way. "(The Observer," Oct. 1958) This statement was alleged to have been made when the Party lost a by-election. Luckily, this is Trinidad, and not Jamaica where the bull-dozers are not metaphorical but real. Nevertheless, the figurative bull-dozers are still at work, scraping away the ground from under the feet of dissent, making the country secure from any but the selected subverts.

Stranger yet was the "Get to hell out of here" statement at the time of the Solomon affair, a pronouncement that still stinks. Our Chairman thought it necessary then to grand-charge the entire nation even though the dishonesty of so doing was evident to all. Critics and sympathisers have pointed out that his whole aim was to get rid of Solomon, who had been becoming a rival; but the party put pressure on our Chairman, so that he had to grand-charge the people to save his face. "Get to hell outa here!"

OPEN DISHONESTY

A society which so completely accepts illegality in public affairs, and open dishonesty in daily life, at very level of existence, made a calypso out of that last saying of our Chairman, and nervously laughed the matter out of court. Perhaps that is why he had the gumption to make the last two recent sallies.." They'll get so much damn trouble", and" It is now a fight to the death."

Our Chairman's outbursts have done nothing to reduce that mood of hysteria which he says that other people are trying to encourage in the society. Where is that heavy dignity, which found it difficult even to smile in public, gone? Why did the police use batons on people who a large number of witnesses say, were not resisting arrest, on the morning of May 13? Perhaps an open confrontation is being invited, a sort of national stick-fighting contest, in which our Chairman will have a better chance to display the strength of his army and police.

He knows his people well. In Guyana, threats like "Heads will roll" made by ministers of the Government, led to its downfall. The bitterness of the people was extreme. In Jamaica, too, Shearer announced himself as a man who would be standing "no nonsense" from his people, while Seaga announced his willingness to fight "fire with fire" and" blood with blood." Having invited confrontation, the Jamaica Government has been faced with mounting violence and crime, which all the king's horses and all the king's men haven't been able to prevent. Guy-

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take such further decisions as Mr. Gopaul advanced under oath?"..... Quite signigicantly, the judgement was given in favour of the Union, and based completely upon Mr. Gopaul's affidavit submitted in defence. No evidence was even requested of the Plaintiff in support of his claim.

Following upon these alleged illegal and unconstitutional elections, the Officers retreated from direct confrontation on the issue of the Rules and Constitution and, by preaching unity, were unconciously functioning as an accommodation to Gopaul's schemes.

It was apparent that these new officers were proceeding very warily in their respective offices; co-operation within the New 'Cabinet' and with the General Secretary was obviously the guiding principle.

Assigned to their posts in order to ensure equitable representations, benefits, other necessities and the maintenance of order, they have done little to investigate evidence of wanton spending bribery, and extortion the like of which their predecessors had protested in vain.

POLITICAL FAVOURS

Subsequently, they publicly charged that the General Secretary, further, was procuring political favours for himself, and generally increasing his powers at the expense of those whose benefits, supposedly, they had been pledged to secure upon being elected.

And so, the Conference of 1965 was ushered in with a mass of withdrawals from among the membership, not only by inactive and un-invited D.T.A.'S, but also the signed resignation from:-

Mr. Urban Ramos–1st. V-Pres.
Mr. Harold Hurdle–Org.Sec.
Mr. G. Mutray-Fin.Sec.
Mr. Linton Brown–Griev.Off.
Mr. Bernard St. Louis–Ass't.Sec.

Messrs. Claudius Thompson and Lancelot Rivers–Members of the Executive Council. To quote, in part, a press release from the T'dad. Guardian–April, 6th. 1965.–"In their letter fo resignation to the Union's President-Mr. Edward Henry, the teachers accused the General Secretary-Mr. St. Elmo Gopaul, of perpetuating numerous irregularities in violation of the Constitution of the Union."

FILM REVIEW

The film "JOANNA" is a strange mixture of light-hearted fantasy, moments of reality, and existentialist philosophy, with definite though rather clumsily introduced moral undertones. "You have to be committed to something," is the burden, though few, if any of the people in the film ever achieve this commitment. Joanna is a girl from Frome who joins the hip set in London —artists, students, beatniks semi-bohemians. Bohemian life is simplified as is every thing else in the film. It may have been one of the aims of the script that none of the characters should seem to have much of a role. The total irrelevance of most things supports this assumption.

Yet the film would have profited from the presence of a sensitive and serious intelligence. The dying young blue-blooded and often incoherent millionaire, is scarcely this; though it is he who expounds the philosophy that helping other people to enjoy life to the full ought to be everyone's mission. The hyper-sexual black dilettante and mimic man, is hardly this; for though he has a kind of cool detachment, it seems so much pose that it is difficult to take him seriously. Joanna herself, is a mere receptacle for sensations. She drifts from man to man, experience to experience, unable to interpret life in any way, or to impose a pattern on the series of images into which her life threatens disintegrate.

A critic like Lukacs would attribute the emptiness of all the lives depicted in "JOANNA" to the simple lack of social, political, or even economic striving, among the more privileged members of the affluent society. Neither work nor money seems to matter in this world. There is always a congenial millionaire around.

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MOKO JUMBIE

CARIFTA AFTER ONE YEAR

Consonant with the age in which we live everything happens at a quicker pace. Retribution falls very swiftly these days. And so it is with CARIFTA.

The month of May has been, since last year, CARIFTA month, and our comments though late are nonetheless timely. Grenada's CARIFTA exposition is still on and a slim booklet by the Trinidad and Tobago Ministry of West Indian Affairs and entitled "Caribbean Integration" has recently made its appearance. The booklet in particular is full of meaning though perhaps not precisely in the way in which the publishers meant it to be. It is full of irony too for it is just about a year ago that critics were making the self same comments which the booklet now echoes.

CARIFTA it seems is in the toils. Withdrawal, discussed in langauge and style appropriately guarded and diplomatic, is a possibility. What is being said is that the Regional Development Bank must come into being without delay. Apparently this has now become the irreducible minimum condition on which the smaller territories are prepared further to participate. And if Jamaica decides not to return to the Bank, as it is feared she might do, the smaller territories might there and then put an end to CARIFTA. If that happens it is most probably goodbye to every other scheme of association. In fact the more we ponder the more complicated the affairs of the English-speaking Caribbean become.

Let us see then what we can see. Obviously there are several conflicting interests in CARIFTA. The trick is to reconcile them. We begin with the smaller territories. Their position is simple and straightforward: 'No Bank, no CARIFTA', and quite properly too. For them the Bank's the thing. So far they have had precious little from CARIFTA and without planned, purposeful development financed very largely by the Bank, they are likely to have less.

According to figures provided in Appendix 11 of the Caribbean Integration booklet the value of total imports into Trinidad and Tobago from the smaller islands (Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Montserrat, the British Virgin Islands and the Grenadines) was $2,047,200 in 1967. In 1968 the corresponding figure was $2,058,000. It had dropped. In some cases imports from these sources had disastrously. In the case of St. Vincent whose proud boast it is that it can become a major exporter of foodstuffs to the Eastern Caribbean the figure dropped from $995,400 to $751,100. In the case of St. Lucia there was a decrease from $827,300 to $544,200. In the case of St. Kitts the figure declined by more than half, from $19,600 to $8,100. Even our imports from Barbados, $1,483,100 in 1967 had dropped to $1,328,300 in 1968.

On the export side the figures show that the total value of our exports to the same territories amounted to $17,112,300 in 1967. In 1968 they amounted to $20,331,200. In other words last year, a period coinciding with the first half-year's existence of CARIFTA we imported $379,200 less from the smaller territories but sold them $3,218,900 more. Clearly there is little in this arrangement for the smaller islands and they want the Bank now more than they ever did. Cry year after, 'No Bank, no CARIFTA' is still a relevant cry and the smaller territories together comprising a major unit of the Free Trade area are still basically at odds with CARIFTA.

Trinidad and Tobago, too, has its special interest which has to be reconciled with CARIFTA. Caribbean Integration puts Trinidad abd Tobago position this way. If Jamaica decides not to enter the Bank, Trinidad and Tobago will not necessarily withdraw but "will have to consider its position in the light of a decision on (10) overleaf"- that is to say "(10) overleaf" strongly suggests that continued participation by Trinidad and Tobago will depend on a good arrangement about BWI. In other words the Trinidad and Tobago position now is negotiable; the event of a Jamaica withdrawal from the Bank it is unlikely to be.

But Jamaica seems less and less likely to participate in the Bank. The decision to participate or not to participate is tied up with Jamaican politics and particularly with the question of the political leadership of the ruling Jamaica Labour Party, that is to say, with the Prime Ministership. As is well known, Mr. Seaga one of the persistent contenders for the highest political honours in Jamaica has managed to put himself in an anti-Caribbean position with respect to CARIFTA and particularly with respect to the Bank. Indeed CARIFTA and the Bank were among the issues being hotly disputed by the different JLP factions when Mr. Seaga's bid for power was at its most serious last year. Since then Mr. Shearer has rescued himself, partly it is true by adroitly and shamelessly exploiting the possibilities presented by the Rodney Affair last October, but partly also it seems by dropping the Caribbean thing about which he was not overly enthusiastic anyway. His position can be put like this. If he can participate in CARIFTA and the Bank without paying too high a political cost he will do but if the pride is the Prime Ministership he won't. With Jamaica as unsettled as it is perhaps best to let sleeping issues sleep. And so we have to reckon on not having Jamaica in the Bank.

What are the prospects then for CARIFTA? Those prospects will turn on two issues, the kind of Bank which can be established without Jamaica and the kind of agreement which can be arrived at about BWIA. Let us assume that agreement about the Bank can be reached. Can agreement be reached about BWIA? At a guess, hardly likely; but it is a good guess, for here too there are irreconcilable interests.

It is no accident that so far Jamaica's Barbados have been the most outspoken antagonists to the notion of designating treating BWIA as the regional air carrier. Both Jamaica and Barbados have highly developed tourist industries which both islands are determined to protect. To help organise a regional air transport system providing for more rational contact between the Caribbean and the metropolitan areas, and for cheaper air fares within the Caribbean itself, will mean more not less competition for the tourist industries of Jamaica and Barbados. This precisely what they both fear; there may be other reasons, but this is the main one. The fact the Jamaica decision to throw in with Air Canada and to buy two Jumbo Jets at a cost of $60,000,000 is a clearcut indication that Jamaica has opted for a protected tourist industry at the expense of serious collaboration with the rest of the Caribbean. While she will take what she can get from CARIFTA, but she is very unlikely ever to become too deeply involved. When the time comes Barbados is quite likely to do the same. Like Jamaica, Barbados too is interested in a Navigation Act, an exclusif - in so far as the tourist industry is concerned, and will bargain with any metropolitan airline that will provide the goods. What makes this policy dignified is the fact that BWIA over the last 10 years or so has been limping from disaster to disaster without any prospect of rights itself. Its one success has been to publicise itself in the U.S.A. as the "unheard-of-airline which in serious fact it is. BWIA now has the Atlantic route to the U.K. but cannot by it, and this too is tied up with tourism. Trinidad and Tobago by itself has little offer a major international airline in return for assistance. A major international would be interested in the regional combination of seats and hotels which Trinidad and Tobago so far has been unable to provide. And it is clear that certainly Jamaica, and probably Barbados has no interest in helping Trinidad and Tobago to provide it.

It looks then as if we must prepare for the worst.

SANS HUMAN
Violence in Jamai

PART 111

What has been the public response to this increase in violence? It has scarcely moved beyond naive reprisal - harsher laws, more policemen, better prisons, the whip, There has also been the suggestion of vigilante groups, drawn from among house holders, and armed. Plans are being made to initiate such groups in Montego Bay. All races will be represented. The question left unasked is "Will vigilante groups of scared citizens, be less inclined to indiscriminate use of their weapons than trained policemen? Is it really a good thing to initiate what could become an open shooting match?"

AVOID THE ISSUE

The general reaction of the public (or rather the middle-class public who write in letters to "The Gleaner") has been to refuse to confront the problem by finding easy scapegoats to blame. No one asks what is to be done to keep the youth on the land, and to destroy the image which the city has of being the Promised Land. This is one of the most difficult tasks in the world, but no visible steps are being taken to tackle it. Suggestions of diversifying agriculture, of devoting less of Jamaica's arable land to sugar, and more to dairy-farming and food crops, have been derided and defined as subversive both by sugar interests, and the two parties. Nothing is being done to make the image of a country life more attractive, and youths who have seen their parents struggle bitterly with the land, while the best land is still devoted to a single crop, leave for the big city. It is this relentless internal migration to Kingston which makes that city the over crowded hell that it is. Half a million in Kingston and St. Andrew alone, an area not much bigger than Barbados.

ARRIVISTE VALUES

Instead of trying to re-educate the youth into eschewing the middle-class arrivste values of the big car, and glossy clothes, well-to-do Jamaicans do everything to flaunt their wealth in the faces of poverty. Ministers of government buy bigger and faster cars every year, (Shearer has three or four) and attend innumerable high-society luncheons, where they talk about violence and the need for law and order - and forget to mention justice. Foppery and ostentation which are now emerging as a part of Guyanese and Trinidadian political and social life, are also a sickening aspect of the Jamaican scene. The youth of all these countries will refuse to make further sacrifices when nobody else does. Moreover, the new radical youth of Kingston are obsessed with the idea of justice. It is the theme of a growing number of their songs, and the basis of their entire protest. For them, justice is becoming more important than law and order.

FINDING SCAPEGOATS

Typical of the evasion of the the public, is their usual habit of blaming violence on a score or so escaped convicts, or on the advocates of Black Power. The

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FINDING SCAPEGOATS

Typical of the evasion of the the public, is their usual habit of blaming violence on a score or so escaped convicts, or on the advocates of Black Power. The Premier, the chief seeker of scapegoats, has been most anxious to discredit Black Power in Jamaica. "We will never support violence and destruction by people crying Black Power"Mr. Shearer has declared, and indeed, there has been an almost frantic drive on the part of his government, to dissuade the 75% black population of Jamaica from seeing themselves as black.

BLACK POWER

Every occasion, however inappropriate, is now used to preach against Black Power. Thus lately in a speech on Home Economics, Mrs. Esme Grant, a parliamentary secretary, somehow managed to tell students to "create a mental block against the doctrine of Black Power wherever it occurs in the rural areas." This desire to "create a mental block" is indeed very strong, and manifests the general attempt to escape from reality implicit in most of the government's actions, and in the public response. We are told, for example, that poverty and unemployment don't cause violence, because statistics show that crime exists in affluent societies. One priest blames illegitimacy and irresponsible parenthood, without seeing how the prevailing economic system makes irresponsibility inevitable. It is unrealistic to ask men without jobs to face up to their responsibility as men. Unemployment emasculates. One commentator traces violence back to the Schism of the Church, another to films of violence, another to the supposed laziness of the negro.

WOOD FOR WOOD

Of late a new development has occurred in the debate on violence. The Premier of Jamaica and the leader of the opposition are taking turns in blaming each other's party for the upsurge of violence. A sensational page wide advertisement, signed by Shearer, appeared in "The Gleaner" on March 29. It tells us a lot about both Shearer and "The Gleaner". That Shearer could sign it and the Gleaner print it at all, is eloquent commentary on the shabby state of both politics and journalism in Jamaica. It accuses the opposition of *"the most shameful record of vicious political violence and victimization in the entire history of Jamaica."* It is a clear sign that the government and opposition have forgotten for a while their gentleman's agreement to place the blame on a few subverts and have begun to castigate each other in public. It is clear, too, that they must take the major part of the blame for the condition in Jamaica today. *All the leaders of the Church have come out jointly and openly against the politicians whom they now begin to see as the veritable enemies of the people.*

As can be expected, the poor are still disregarded. March 1969 saw the government losing a "sure" seat in St. Catherine's, and soon after sending in their bulldozers to remove 200 squatters from Crown lands in that parish. The Opposition interpreted this action as one of brutish political reprisal.

Cont'd on page 4

CALL THAT GEORGE

by MOKO

Happy fortnight, erstwhile brothers. As you can see, I've given you up.

Investigation needs to be done into the unique mentality and humour of Grenada. After all that country produced the inimitable Sparrow, master of so many brands of laughter that he deserves a whole thesis. Then there are the lesser comedians like Premier Eric Gairy, whose sense of humour though not on par with Sparrow's, is at least as rich as that of any other West Indian premier. Gairy has done much to develop what may be called the comedy of the mystical absurd. In this day and age he, like Joan of Arc or Pundit Ganesh Ramsummair in Naipaul's Mystic Masseur, is still hearing voices, still in direct contact with the Divine Architect! The Archbishop of Trinidad had better seek Gairy's advice, because this talent for direct contact with the Almighty departed from Trinidad since the exit of Uriah Butler and the advent of the PNM

But Sparrow and Gairy are not the only comedians Grenada has produced. In a way both of them must yield pride of place to James Laqua, Funeral Director and Undertaker, Anglo-American Funeral Agency (These foreigners control us even when dead.) The following is an advertisement which appeared in the Grenada Press in December 1961.

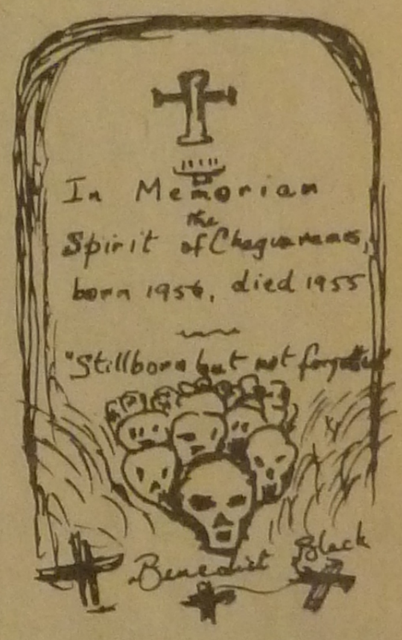
"Greetings to Dear Friends."

"Our usual Xmas gift is once more open to you. Caskets of all classes A, B and C can be obtained at reasonable prices from the Anglo American Funeral Agency ... and not to mention the influx of ornaments and Tombstones to be laid at the grave of your departed ones ... Also specialise in Embalming ... We now take this opportunity to loan one free Coffin to any Relative of the departed ones buried by Anglo American Funeral Agency Co. Bills must be presented of the departed ones buried by the above named Company not later than 6 a.m. on the 25th December 1961. Also all Caskets purchased 20% discount will be given from 26th December 1961 to 31st December 1961. We are now in a position to offer the new designs .....

Anyone purchasing one of these new design Caskets will be given One Case Whiskey free. Dont' be prejudiced . . . you can purchase your coffin before death; Come in and select. We are at your service Day and Night. We also offer you Oak Casket with glass face, also Steel Casket for burying at sea. We can also supply Hymns for all Religions; who pay for them will have them. Also last Rite Sets, canned juices and Best Burgess Batteries for Radios Flashlights and Satellite from U.S.A.

We now take this opportunit to wish everyone a Merry Christmas and a Brilliant 1962.

Yes compared with Mr. Laqua, all our politicians must seem lesser comedians, even Papa Doc, talented exponent of the grand-charge, Shearer and Seaga, masters of grotesque farce, or Burnham, prince of the post-Victorian melodramatic style, the connoisseur's delight, artist of le mot juste, the correct phrase, the precisely timed paunch-line.



Bless me, doctor,

Moko jumbie.

P.P.S.

Like everybody want to ger photograph kissing air hostess brides. First Papa, nest Robby. We have begun a file on ministers kissing brides. Anyone who can help is asked to get in touch with Mokojumbie. We are also gratified to see that of late not only is Papa Doc kissing little girls, but he is actually blending this activity with attending agricultural shows! A healthy change. A change, at any rate. Very good. Amen...

C.T.G.!!!

NO DAM DOG BARK

Cont'd from page 2

ana has disintegrated partly because the politicians themselves fostered an atmosphere of panic and distrust. Jamaica is disintegrating

But Trinidad feels that she always has the rum and calypso. And perhaps she is right. What will keep this society together, is not the army and the police, but the general indifference of the people to any action which reduces comfort, and the easy acceptance of dishonesty. Our Chairman knows that he can threaten, because he knows how much the society loves a timely grand-charge. Fed on bad cow-boy and gangster films, they still admire the bad-john, the fastest gun in the West. A good calypsonian, our Chairman gives the public what it wants. He knows that few will ask questions about the gas stations racket, or the strange disappearance of 56,000 dollars from the Bus Company, or of the missing two million dollars worth of food from the hospital. Our Chairman knows how passively we acquiesce in every element of illegality, and he knows too, that if we can't take it any longer, we will get to hell out of here, as he suggested we should, and travel to Michener's Canada, or Enoch Powell's England, or Nixon's America. And, indeed, why not? The same thing is happening in those places. We would feel at home there, and we would be much better paid.

MOKO

A Serious Review

No. 15
Price 10c

The Question of Security

THE ST. KITTS TWIST

Throughout the month of January, certain events took place in this State involving directly the Ministry of Education and all Teachers. Things quickly escalated into a Teachers' Strike affecting most of the Government schools within St. Kitts and involving half of the teaching body, followed by the threat of a sympathy strike by the Civil Service. No satisfactory settlement was reached, but the Strike was called off after 4 days and teachers are back at school upon verbal assurances from the Public Service Commission that certain demands would be met, in particular that relating to no victimization of persons who took part in the protest. Since, by a Circular emanating from the Ministry of Education, it is clear that teachers will be disciplined, it is more than likely that there will be further developments. The dispute between the Teachers (and Civil Service) with the Ministry of Education (Government) is only the most recent illustration in this state, and in the British Caribbean, of what happens when the ruling regime faces mounting unpopularity:- what results is the increasing insecurity of Government itself, which leads to an ever-growing application of coercive measures.

THE EROSION OF POPULAR SUPPORT

For the first time in the history of its rule, the ruling Party is faced with an opposition which is not merely an election Party, and which has no intention of simply falling out of existence. This party, P.A.M. is the regrouping of the old reactionary forces from whom the shadow of power, political office, was snatched by the present regime after the 1930's. These see an opportunity, in the defection of a significant portion of working class, who provided the really traditional support for the government, to reassert their political ,economic and social interests. With increasing unemployment, the contraction of the sugar industry, the rise in prices and, not least important, the increased exposure of the deprived to the consumer goods of the industrialized West (through working in the Virgins, etc.) the threat of further loss of support is very real. Indeed there are certain depressed areas in which whole villages, particularly the young people, have become the most vocal supporters of the Opposition.

Clearly, that the most underprivileged and depressed sections of the Black community are forced to ally themselves with a party, which for all its modern trappings is a most reactionary political force comprised of the old impoverished planter – business complex of local whites, browns and now Syrians – is in itself the most damning evidence of political failure. PAM has indisputably attracted to its ranks most of the discontented elements, including many poor black people.

Since the appearance of PAM the regime has become understandably nervous. It is difficult to believe in the seriousness of a plot to overthrow the Government, to avert which a State of Emergency lasting almost one full year was invoke, and which led to a great number of detentions and deportations, for which not a single acceptable piece of evidence was given to the Courts. It must be remembered that the Government itself called for the cessation of the Trials – after publicly declaring that it had no confidence in the Courts.

ARMY BUILD–UP

The prominence of security lights, the build up of an Army, comprised chiefly of loyal supporters of the Party, the daily exposure of the community to the arms publicly carried not only by the Army, but by the Premier himself; the patent corruption of a Government in need of rewarding its supporters; the deliberate emasculation of bodies and offices such as the P.S.C. and the Governor -- established by the Constitution; the frequent break in the chain of command in the Civil Service, allowing Ministers of Government to dabble too much in administration; the arbitrary appropriation of certain public facilities, such as the main recreational centre, Warner's Park and now the Basseterre High School for groups and activities sponsored by the ruling Party -- all these point to mounting anxiety and loss of confidence on the part of the regime.

THE CHOICES

Faced with the reality of an Opposition clearly opposed to the interests of the state, and the economic pressures on the working class which erode this source of support, the Government is faced with two choices. One is to use its power as a nationalist movement which has alone been responsible for that degree of change which has taken place since the 1930s to mobilize the people, and to redirect policy to provide real economic growth and popular participation in the country. The other is a mixture of empty political gestures, political rhetoric, and the intensification of coercive measures. In other words, the St. Kitts situation closely resembles that in the rest of the West Indies.

It seems to many here that the Government has resorted to the second alternative. Pushed by the harrassment of the Opposition Party, which has 'Tourism and Development' as the main plank in its political platform, and in the context of the difficulties of the sugar Industry, the Government has decided to steal the rather questionable thunder of PAM. Towards the end of last year Government committed itself to a fantastic Development Project at Frigate Bay, which is to cost some $140 million. It is supposed to have all the "musts" of this kind of project, Golf Course etc.

This is supposed to provide employment and a higher standard of living for the workers. But we should not forget that St. Kitts is not cursed with the long white sandy beaches of the Tourist Islands of Jamaica, Barbados and Antigua, and Frigate Bay remains the only "good" beach within reasonable distance of Basseterre. Indeed, Frigate Bay was purchased by this Government, for the people, in recent years from the old planter owner at tremendous cost. After all the adult population can well remember the days when one had to obtain permits in order to bathe at Frigate Bay.

The Government seems also committed to providing the basic facilities for middle and lower income housing, as at the Bird Rock development. Yet the recent removal of 'squatters' at Bird Rock, in order to make way for this scheme, and the ghastly and insulting manner in which these houses have been crowded together on Pond's pasture – in a depressing row, with new galvanized latrines standing symetrically behind them – cannot be lost upon the masses of this country. Signs and symbols of the time.

Cont'd from page 2

Indeed, a complacent attitude towards society, makes all of them unfit for the confrontation with their anxiety, which alone could render this angst meaningful. The words of the girl who has undergone her third abortion exemplify this point. She wishes she had kept the thing "just to have something to show for it." The people in "JOANNA" go through their experiences, and have nothing to show for it.

Yet, for all that "JOANNA" is a genuinely disturbing film. Some where in it, occur the words, "Life's but a moving picture-show," with their intimations of the phenomenology of Husserl or Robbe-Grillet. The film is really a series of sharply perceived, but completely unrelated images. The sensitive consciousness strives to impose some sort of order on the panorama, but at the end people still seem lost in the swirl of images. Realism reinforces, and is the pre-requisite to Absurdity. Not even the million aire's desperate commitment to enjoying the spectacle, or the artist's to interpreting it, suffices. It is the pervasive sense of irrelevance, which accords the same significance to a sunset, a man setting a clock in a railway station, the face of a dowager at a funeral, the drip of blood, and a fine cricket-player's summer's day, that disturbed, and suggested that man was nothing more than a pathetic figure in a universe whose only purpose for existence seems to lie in the fact that it does exist at all.

BUS STRIKE & THE ISA

ASKING THE IMPOSSIBLE

The present crisis illustrates some of the limitations of the I.S.A. Let us consider the judgement which has caused the conflict between labour and the court.

Firstly the Corporation told the court that they were told by the Minister (see Minutes 2625 of December 1968) not to pay more than 6% or incur more than $80,000.00 expenditure, and that they had to observe the instruction according to section 9 of the Transport Act. Mr. Hyatali replies that he cannot accept that the court was forbidden by the Transport Act from making an order which would be financially embarrassing to the Corporation or they – the provisions of the act – would have the effect of rendering such an order, if made, void and of no effect. Mr. Hyatali is aware from evidence which he accepts that the Corporation from 1965 to 1968 had a deficit of $20,445,162, a picture which he describes as one of almost chronic insolvency. And further than actual as well as anticipated cost were likely to increase operating losses even further . . . . . then it seems almost certain that the operating deficit would continue to grow, sinking the Corporation deeper into the mire of insolvency.

Further Mr. Hyatali is bound by the guide lines of the I.S.A. which say:–Sec.9.2.a. the necessity to maintain a high level of domestic capital accumulation with a view to increasing the rate of economic growth and to provide greater employment opportunities.

Sec. 9.2. c the necessity to ensure workers a fair share of the increases in productivity in the enterprise.

Sec. 9. 2. h The need to ensure the continued ability of the Government to finance development programmes in the public sector.

The insolvency of the Corporation and guidelines of the I.S.A. effectively leave the court with no basis on which to make any meaningful improvement on the wages and conditions of the workers in this chronic deficit-ridden industry. Unless the award is based on what the Minister and Cabinet are prepared to give the Corporation. An award on any other basis is doomed to frustration.

The court is bound to take into consideration the ability of the Corporation to pay, to provide employment and if we want to be ridiculous – to accumulate reserve.

It is obvious from this analysis that the I.S.A. cannot be applied to a deficit-ridden industry, such as the Corporation is, with any meaningful intention.

The guide lines of the court and the insolvency of the Corporation leave the court powerless to make any award (for improvement) under the provision of the I.S.A.

The only improvement in wages and conditions which can be made are those based on the willingness of the Minister and Cabinet to provide funds.

Cabinet must take their heads out of the sand and face the responsibility which is theirs alone; only Cabinet can provide the funds.

Cont'd from page 3

The wave of crime will continue and grow. People whose rights are being daily infringed cannot be expected to respect the rights of others. People who are being shown day by day that they have no place – no not even in the bone-yard – will never be committed to society. *Sans humanite* is the watch word of the politician businessman, *sans humanite* is the response of the people.

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